1: Messing E-5 (1953-1954)1957 MP5 Amhara MP5

136 The lowland is also the habitat of poisonous snakes, rare on the upland. They are usually lumped under the name "yäqolla ebäb" (lowland snake), and include the very poisonous cobra ("funjit"). This species is avoided, but the large, non-poisonous python ("zändo") is prized for its skin and is an export item sought out by some hunters.

136 364 A second category of fauna are the animals sometimes referred to by foreigners as the "sanitation squad". They protect the health of the population by cleaning up carcasses of donkeys left dead in their tracks; leftovers from butchering, etc. No one ever hunts these animals, though everyone is familiar with them, as they or their traces are common sights in urban as well as rural areas. It is only since the increase in motor traffic that hyenas no longer penetrate at night into the heart of Addis Ababa itself. These animals include:

136 [825] Hyena ("djebb"), spotted, often quite large, feeds mainly on carrion but on occasion attacks domestic animals, small children, and even shepherds [754] sleeping in the open. In black magic, the hyena is "ridden" by the buda spirit, and many Amhara believe that they can distinguish the call of a real hyena from one into which a blacksmith has turned himself. This is why no one will open his hut at night to a strange. Hyena holes are also found in potter's fields, where the poor and strangers are buried outside churchyards, for hyenas smell out and eat recently buried corpses. Passers-by piously try to fill the holes with stones to prevent the hyenas from returning.

136 Jackal ("qäbbäro"), common north of Lake Tana, near Gondar and in most other parts of Ethiopia. Its nocturnal habits are similar to those of the hyena, and it also burrows into graves.

Vultures ("amora"), This term includes all carrion-eating birds, and other birds of prey. Among Carrion-eaters are: the ever-present, sharp-eyed fork-tailed hawk ("ṭenb amora") which will swoop down and steal meat away from a man in the middle of the town if he is not quick to protect it; a white-bodied water-bird (näch amora) (including the "shemäla", a kind of heron) who competes with fishermen in the rainy season; "warda", the blackbird (merlo) that cleans up after human feasts.

Crow ("qura"), named after its cry. This bird is most often seen in back yards or cleaning up the market area after a market day. Thus, a day when no market takes place, is called "Day of the Crow's market" ("yäqura gäbäya"). Pious individuals remember the crow as one of Noah's pets and call a variety that has a white spot on its head, "Noah's crow" (yänoa qura).

[825]

136 241 A third category of wild animals includes those that endanger the crops. The farmer sends his children to watch for these from the tops of umbrella trees, and the boys use their fiber-and-pebble slingshots against them. These include:

Baboon ("zendjäro"), very unpopular because a troop can

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136
241

destroy the crops of a village in a week. Shouting is not sufficient to scare them off when there are many. When the small baboon families held off by the boys threaten to grow into a troop, farmers use their rifles.

Hare ("tenchäl") is also called the "enemy of tïff" because it likes to feed on that main crop of the farmer. It is a nocturnal animal, perhaps because of its natural enemies, the ever-present birds of prey.

Yellow Sparrow ("mänäkusit"), lit. "little monk", be-
[792] cause its yellow coloring resembles the saffron toga formerly worn by monks.

Flax snake ("yätalba ebäb") is of the light-brown color of flax-seed, on which it likes to feed. It is also called "kurfafeya", because when disturbed, it makes a sound like "fuff". Its bite is con-
● [825] sidered mildly poisonous by the Amhara but requiring the services of a native "wogäsha" (surgeon), who thus acquires a reputation for his "cure" against this actually non-poisonous snake.

Locust (anbäta), occurs less often than the other dangers, but when it comes, in huge swarms of a 3-inch species, the results are devastating, causing major famines. (The usual route of the locust is arrival from the lowland eastern border, through the Great Rift valley (Awash), up the plateau, in January, just after the main harvest. It withdraws to the dry lowlands for egg-

224 Before
535 going on an elephant hunt, for example, he performed the "boasting dance", "fukkara", largely with his shoulders and upper arms, predicting his feats; and his retainers honored him by declaring their confidence in his prowess, jumping up and down in the "hota" dance, chanting repeatedly:

[539] "Elephant-killer, (to) your home-
elephant-killer, take him home".
(Hunter:) Elephant-killer (I am), to home (I'll take him)."
(Retainers:)" When it (the elephant) will be moving,
he will kill it!"

224 The elephant-killer, considered braver than the lion-
554 killer, was called "addo" and given a special decoration to wear on forehead and upper arm by the king or feudal lord. A warrior who had killed a human enemy was called "geday" (lit. killer) and held prestige equal to the elephant-killer. Now that rifles are used in place of spears, such heroes have become more common and decorations among the Amhara have fallen into disuse.

224 Besides the big-game, edible jungle animals mentioned
● 825 before under "fauna", there are numerous wild game, mainly gazelles and partridges, hunted near human habitations to increase the food supply and for occasional sport:

Ethiopian duiker - "midaqwa", very common near habitations on the woyna dega, an antelope the size of a small goat, often approaching hamlets at dusk. It is considered the "cattle" of the zar spirits, and sacrifice to them is thus called "midaqwa".

[782]

Bushbuck - "dekula", similar but medium-sized ante-

224
825 lope, reddish, more shy.

Ethiopian klipspringer - "sässo", a little mountain antelope resembling the European chamois, with soft, smooth skin. The Amhara is amused by the curious habit of this sociable animal of mixing with herds of tame goats and grazing in their midst, when goats are taken to upper hillsides for pasturage in the rainy season.

[233]

Waterbuck - "defassa", large antelope resembling European red deer in build. Brown color; hers of 5 to 10 usually contain only one old bull. Common near Lake Tana.

Reedbuck - "behor", golden-colored antelope, in bush near water. They like to inhabit a specific small territory, in herds of 5 to 10.

Ethiopian ibex - "walya", very wild, red-speckled, on the dega steep mountains of Semyen subprovince. Not common elsewhere.

825 223 Francolins - "qoq" is the generic name for this family of common wild fowl of the woyna dega; resemble the partridge. Boys are adept at hunting them with slingshot and pebble and run after them until both are exhausted.

[411 867]

Guinea fowl - "zegra" or "jegra", black, lean, fast runner, found near water.

Partridge - "sèrän", common on woyna dega. Wild

825
223 Quail - "derchot" goose "yebra" (anas aegyptiaca). Perhaps the most common wild fowl very near habitations, but rarely hunted because very small. It is considered a nuisance and a danger because of its habit of hiding in flocks in the tall grass and starting up suddenly, scaring horses and even mules, which is dangerous especially on steep hills. [59]

411 Spears, slingshot, and now rifles are used in part-
184 time or sport hunting. Traps ("atmad") and snares are used only by occupational hunting populations living in jungles such as Wolqait and whose pattern of living differs from that of typical Amhara.

222 A noteworthy Amhara exploitative activity is the col-
[412] lecting of pumice rock in riverbeds during the dry season, and thus called "yabaher dengay" (river rock). It is used
135 in grinding and husking. Gold comes mostly from south of old-Amhara territory, where it is found in sand gravels and has been sold in nuggets since ancient times.

241 D. Food Production and Consumption

a.) Agricultural production

In agriculture in general, there are two major variables: environment, and degree of sophistication - i.e. power and its application.

The ecology of Ethiopia's highland plateau, where

59. The English equivalent terms have been taken from Van Rosen, Bjorn: Game Animals of Ethiopia. 1953.

515 may last 9 months, there is very little bathing, and only hands are washed, in muddy water brought from the river or
514 brook, before and after meals. There are no latrine ditches. Feces are deposited behind thorny bushes 1/4 mile from the hamlet at most, while urination at night proceeds within the hamlet. This practice is followed even in towns and in Addis Ababa. Fortunately the strong sun carbonizes the feces in the dry season, and the strong rain in that season sweeps it away. There is no caste of sweepers, and no attention is paid to human or animal feces, except for the manure of oxen and cows. The latter is hand-pressed into cakes and used as fuel.

364 Hyenas, jackals and vultures are not interfered
825 with, as their services in removing carcasses of animal origin are well appreciated.

165 Abundant sunlight during 9 months of the year, coupled with the scanty clothing of small children, probably gives them their best chance of survival in addition to the long breast-feeding. Nevertheless infant mortality is very high, and in an average family half the babies born die before reaching the age of 5.

164 Flea infestation of humans can be described as
136 complete. This opens the way to flea-born typhus, especially on the highland plateau. Lice are somewhat less general, since they are not regarded by the Amhara as inevitable as fleas. Thus, an Amhara whose hair is infected
136 with lice (e.g. during a stay in prisons which are always
164 lice-infected), he may shave his hair. But louse-born re-
744 lapsing fever epidemics recur from time to time, and the

1: Messing E-5 (1953-1954)1957 MP5 Amhara MP5

857 grumble, growl, snarl). It consists of a stick of wood, a foot
524 long, 1/2 inch thick, notched at the thinner end, to which a cord of twisted fibre is attached. This is swung horizontally, above the head, to produce what is regarded as a terrifying sound. It is even used in shepherding, since boys believe it frightens away hyenas and the occasional leopard. During the rainy season, boys play it indoors to amuse each other and haze-tease younger siblings, who are frightened by it.

At the beginning of the light rainy season, when the storks and other birds fly north, children especially girls, form circles and dance rounds, chanting to the flocks of birds:

[539]

"Stork, our country is well;
the woman who baked gitta (luxurious wheat bread)
has died swallowing gitta (i.e. luxury is plentiful).

[825] At harvest time, in November, similar greetings are sung to the birds when they return from the north, from "Jerusalem" in popular belief. The Falashas children express this by singing to departing storks:

[539]

"How are you?
The people of Jerusalem (Falashas) are well)."

The Coptic Amhara hold the same belief as to the destination of the birds.

Winter games, i.e. in the rainy season, when children are restricted to the hamlet, include building of makeshift huts, in which they play "man and wife". The girls gather leaves, roll red mud inside, and "bake" cakes. Boys mimic the farmer, weave a hood of reeds, and just as he walks in the rain broadcasting his seeds, so boys broadcast pebbles.

Swimming is a favorite sport of children in the rainy season,

821 animals and evil spirits give birth. It is called "näber wäldaläch" (lit. the leopard has given birth), or "jeb wäldach", (lit. the hyena has had a litter).

823 Volcanic activity, which occurs not infrequently in these mountains that are of young geological age, is interpreted as a threatened repetition of the Biblical event that swallowed Sodom, and is indeed called "Sodom" (another connotation is "greedy").

Geographical directions are taken either from the Gees, e.g. "me'erab" for west (lit. where the sun sets), and "mesraq" for east; or the location of Abyssinian provinces is used: "Semyen" for north, "Azeb" for southwest. South is "däbub" (probably Cushitic).

821 Daytime and nighttime are regarded as two very different phases of the universe, altering radically behavior of natural phenomena, animals, plants, even human behavior. The phrase "the night belongs to the hyena" refers not only to the nightly roaming of that animal, but also to the roaming of evil spirits at night, as well as dangerous strangers and actual bandits. As a consequence, even the hospitable, outgoing householder of the daytime changes to sullen and suspicious behavior if strangers suddenly arrive after dark. When he must leave the hut, he carries a weapon, in the rural areas. Even in Addis Ababa, the official curfew at midnight is little resented by the average Amhara, because of this traditional pattern.

574 576 The period of a week is regarded as a time unit with regard to the primary group and kin visiting. When two members of these groups have not seen each other for more than a week, they greet each other with "endemen sänebätu" (lit. how did you spend the week away).

776 825 The world of the spirits, who also inhabit the universe in large numbers, is believed to be in close relationship with the animal

776 kingdom. The hyena ("jeb") is regarded as acting sometimes as the
825 "horse" of the evil spirit or human sorcerer, sometimes as a werewolf-like creature, when the evil spirit or human sorcerer assumes its form at night, or makes use of its powerful, hypnotic eyes to "draw the [153] blood" magically from the living victim. The concept of the magical hyena is much used in diagnosis and treatment of mental ailments. It is the most common wild animal, seen and heard at night, and the holes it burrows under fresh human graves are regarded as visible evidence of the character of the hyena. The fear in which the spiritual world is held is symbolized in the hyena; it is whispered about in connection with suspected ethnic craft groups such as the smiths; or shouted out loud in military unison ("yabahalal jebo") in challenge.

825 Aspects of the animal world which cause great "wonderment" among homespun Amhara "shemagalye" philosophers are types of animal behavior that seem so human. "Bird language" is given a variety of popular interpretations (footnote 102). Baboons, which are a constant annoyance and therefore familiar, are wondered about in part because of their human-like social organization headed by "great man" chiefs ("gamare").

But it is a great insult to call a person a "creature of Thursday" (when animals were created, according to the Bible).

186 B. Amhara Ideas about Human Races and Amhara Ethnocentrism.

829 The dualism of the Amhara culture pattern rules also their view of the human races with which they are familiar, and their own

Footnote 102 - Leslau: Popular Interpretations of Bird Sounds in Ethiopia. Journal of American Folklore, 1952, Vol. 65, pp. 361-4.

upland, he notices and remembers the location of plants and roots, which supply him with much of his pharmacopeia. His sense of direction is trained and therefore seems uncanny to the layman. Moreover, not infrequently he actually transplants certain wild plants, so that he can always find them; sufficiently far from residential habitations so that they are not easily found or consumed by cattle or playful boys. A good rule for distance is how far the crowing of a rooster can be heard - for some plants are believed to lose their magical power if disturbed by this sound.

The "woggesha" usually learns his craft from his father, while serving him as apprentice. But at present the most popular "woggesha" in the town of Gondar is a well-known former bandit, who has gained an enviable reputation as a skilled surgeon. The "woggesha" is usually a diplomat in his human relations, much like the old-time Western family doctor. He usually tries to remain on good terms with the local church, and often invites the local dabtara to dinner at his house, especially on saints' days, to avoid their competitive hostility and to discuss some cases on a "professional" level.

In his capacity as surgeon, the "woggesha" sets fractures, cuts abscesses, pulls teeth (now with European pliers). But some of his practices are severely condemned by European doctors who object particularly to the woggesha's frequent ripping out of part of the soft palate to cure tonsilitis and chronic sore throat, often causing blood poisoning. Nevertheless, the present government still permits the woggesha to function "in his own district", for otherwise most people would be left without any medical empiricist.

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X-794 T76 753

There are male "zars" and female ones. The latter are considered more dangerous and more difficult to placate. Usually a "zar" spirit prefers to "possess" a human of the opposite sex, which results in a magical coitus, and causes epilectic seizures or catatonic states. In the latter case, usually a woman being "slept with" by a jealous male "zar", she seems drowsy and "turned within herself", disinterested in the environment, forgetting to eat. In the former case, the magical coitus sends her into orgasms of twisted arms and legs; or sometimes, twirling frenziedly; sometimes moving on all fours, emitting raucous sounds, biting the unwary, while being "ridden like a horse" by the "zar".

X-794 T76 825

The "zars" of today are regarded as having geographical homelands. In abyssinia their central location is believed to be in the province of Tigre, where they prefer woodland grottoes on the highland plateau, and where, if taken off guard under certain circumstances, they can become temporarily visible. Some zar doctors even narrow this central headquarters to a locality known as "Halawel" near the existing town of Makalle. On occasion the "zar" spirits there are believed to hold dances, even orgies. But most often they live in families, much like human Abyssinians, though on a superhuman level. They can ride elephants, lions, etc, to whom they refer as "farasey" (lit. my horse), the same term they use to humans whom they "ride" during possession. But they despise the hyena, which is the "horse" of the evil "buda" spirit. The "cattle" of the zar spirits consists of wild gazelles, antelopes - the wild relatives of cattle domesticated by humans. Zar spirits are fond of peppery sauce ("wot") and "enjara" bread much like Abyssinians. Tree stumps serve them as tables. They like the flowers and green

[825]

1: Messing E-5 (1953-1954)1957 MP5 Amhara MP5

assessed membership fees in the zar congregation headed by that particular zar doctor. The patient thus becomes a devotee of the zar ("yäzar wəlaj").

Demands of the individual zars range from very simple to very complex. If he is a light-colored zar, he may demand the annual sacrifice of a light-colored goat; if dark, of a black goat. Frequently the demand includes personal attire for the possessed, such as certain trinkets, glass bead necklaces, metal hairpins, specific hairstyles - all of them attention-getters. The zar warns that he will come and check on the observance of these demands from time to time, and punish any shortcomings with severe suffering.

Sacrifices, "derka", in which a goat or a chicken is slaughtered, are at least partly consumed by the patient (through whom the zar consumes the donation). Sometimes several sacrifices have to be observed as part of one "mäqwädäsha", to appease weaker zar spirits that linger about the more powerful ones, awaiting a vulnerable moment in which to pounce upon the patient, unless pacified.

Some zars are vegetarian, require ablutions in vegetable water, in which mashed vegetables and chewed "chat" ("qat", a drugplant) have been mixed; others perversely like the bitter vermifuge plant kosso and insist that it be placed in the coffee consumed by the possessed patient; still others have made the lemon or the sycamore their symbol.

More zars are carnivorous. One whose symbol (resembling a totem) is a lion, will demand the sacrifice of a tawny-colored goat, or demand that one of that color be kept in sight at all times so that he can "look" at it. For zars are very fond of using their sight. The wild animals of the bush are considered the "cattle" of the zar, and some

1: Messing E-5 (1953-1954)1957 MP5 Amhara MP5

X794 776 755 [825] specialize in "drinking" magically the milk of the lioness or female elephant, etc. When zars appear in dreams, cats and jackals often represent female zars, snakes male zars. But the animals are merely forms which the zars assume temporarily, while the zar spirits themselves retain their demanding-protective identity permanently.

[756] Some zar doctors are considered far more experienced, clever, or specialized than others, so that stubborn cases are referred to them. One of the most stubborn is the zar of epilepsie, called "barya" (lit. Barya tribesman, hence, slave). This zar is believed to have his home in the Nilotic lowlands below the northwest escarpment, a desert and near-desert area inhabited by the Barya people. There this zar is believed in contact with "ganyen" (djinn), from whom he has acquired his evil character. Prognosis in this case is more limited, and all the zar doctor can do is to negotiate an agreement with "barya" to afflict the patient less frequently. Even the diagnosis is difficult, for the patient often has to be restrained, even tied up, and special herbs and procedures are required.

Another difficult case is the patient possessed by several different zars at the same time, which confuses the diagnosis. In this case, the cleverness, experience and diplomacy of the diagnostician are severly taxed, to unravel the tangle, and treat each zar without insulting and neglecting any of the others. The usual procedure is to appease the most powerful one, e.g. "awolye", first, and enlist him as guardian spirit against the others. A really powerful and arrogant zar doctor can go so far as to attempt to treat the personalities of the minor zars themselves. Thus he may give them a severe talking to

[illegible]itting or coughing blood (which may be tuberculosis) is [illegible]rded as another sure symptom of buda, especially the demon "[illegible]". The buda is believed to cause widespread epidemics, if he is powerful and many vulnerable victims are in the area.

Certain buda are believed to have very specialized "educated" tastes. One likes to rob the voice of dabtara choristers who chants harmoniously in church (perhaps in revenge for the same dabtara's part-time, extracurricular activity as exorciser), whereupon the voice will begin to croak and steadily grow worse, until the singer cannot even carry a tune. When a cow gradually stops giving milk, despite a big udder, this is ascribed to the special taste of an "educated" buda.

c. Diagnosis, Treatment and Prognosis

Sometimes the victim declares that he has had a dream in which a certain suspected person, e.g. an ironsmith, has been "eating" him. This can become very dangerous for the accused.

The question which diagnosis has to solve is not "what's eating you?", but "who is eating you?"; for the buda spirit and sorcerer are one person.

When the exorciser appears, the "buda" reacts violently. Even apathetic patients suddenly break out in violent peals of laughter, bow like a hyena, crawl about on all fours. The exorciser begins to question the "buda" to find out his personal identity. The "buda" replies through the mouth of the victim, in a hoarse voice, which is attested by all Amhara onlookers as "not the normal voice of the victim". The diagnostic procedure is a battle of wits between the exorciser and the "buda". The

11:Levine Z-4,5 (1958-1961)1965 MP5 Amhara MP5

world. Some are purely descriptive, like the notion that *budā* turn into hyenas after dark or ride hyenas like horses, or the belief that when red spots appear on the side of a clay pot when it is heated over a fire it means that the *ṭayb* who made the pot are fighting each other. Others guide him in warding off the evil ones, such as the idea that evil spirits can be kept away when a female child has been born by placing something of iron at the head of the mother's bed. But for serious trouble—when someone has been afflicted by a *zār* or infected by a *budā*—the folk wisdom does not suffice, and a specialist is sought.

The *ṭanquāy*, or "sorcerer," is consulted for exorcising demons as well as for physical ailments. In treating a *zār* patient his task is to discern, by clever interrogation, what manner of *zār* is riding the patient and then to determine what sort of gift is required to propitiate this *zār*. For a patient who has been "eaten" by the evil eye, he may succeed in summoning the guilty *budā*—identified when the patient calls out his name during a trance—and inducing him to spit on his victim; or he may resort to such techniques as transferring the demon from the victim to the body of a chicken and then killing the chicken. The *ṭanquāy* has other supernatural powers. He can summon the devil to liquidate the enemy of a client. He can interpret dreams and predict the future. For this he boils coffee, burns incense, and, sitting on a white sheepskin with freshly cut grass spread about the room, speaks out whatever comes to him.

The *dabtarā*, thanks to his knowledge of books and the lore acquired sub rosa while attending the church schools, wields many more powers than does the *ṭanquāy*. He can write amulets to keep away sickness and evil spirits. He knows formulas that can protect one from bullets and instill insatiable passion in the breast of one's beloved. He has the power to bring rain or make it stop, and to plague the householder by turning all of his possessions against him. Like the *ṭanquāy*, his expert knowledge of plants and herbs can heal the sick or poison the client's enemy. His superiority over the *ṭanquāy* is shown by the different manner in which he arranges a divination: he consults his heavy books, brews and interprets leaves, and then writes out his predictions on paper. For all this the *dabtarā*'s fees are usually higher, but his status is perhaps more precarious, for he is after all a man of the church. The peasant feels none too easy in dealing with one who both serves the church and deals with devils.

Time and Space[9]

Devils, *zār*, evil eye, and sorcery are hidden in the crevices of Amhara mentality. They are spoken of, if at all, somewhat fearfully, and some Amhara pretend that such things no longer exist or are of little account in their culture. The sacred spirits, on the other hand, loom large in the public mind.

827
[841] quired amounts of blood are continually renewed in fer-
tile women, menstrual efflusnce is necessary to shed
* [192] blood not needed between pregnancies. Hence, the cessa-
tion of menstrual bleeding at menopause (arowgey) indi-
[892] cates the loss of fertility. Arowgey is only one form
* [192] of infertility, however, since a woman may be infertile
through magical cuases even though she continues to men-
struate (makan).

• [825] The stomach is described as an inert organ housing
a colony of wosfat worms. These are usually identified
with ascariasis and are believed to transform food and
drink into waste. For the host's well-being, their num-
bers must be sufficient to consume all ingested food;
should they become over-abundant, however, hunger and a
quarrelsome disposition will drive them to viciously at-
tack accessible body organs.

*[192] Beyond these few naturalistic descriptions of organ
functioning, the Amhara invokes Divine Providence (yi-
Igziyabiher ara) to explain physiological processes, such
as the renewal of menstrual blood and the source of vital
heat. God further provides that, in the absence of in-
trusive influences, the parts of the body will function
together to maintain a state of harmonious well-being
(tena), devoid of pain and characterized by the vigor and
physical control commensurate with the individual's age.

000 Malign agencies, both corporeal and incorporeal,

*753 776 rosy.

*753 • 825 Likift-powers are also associated with crawling insects, spiders, lizards, and the infrequent highland snake. As with the ganel, these creepers are innately contaminating, either through direct contact with their persons, or indirectly through media which they have touched---such as clothing and water---or which they have *[192] expelled---such as uring and saliva. This likift results in ringworm, varioloid and exzemoid skin diseases; because of their inherent toxicity, these creatures are also frequent ingredients in poisonous infusions (yijeseb).

*753 776 825 Sometimes, it is problematic whether the conditions which attract the attentions of ganel and creeper are not themselves sufficient to produce certain syndromes. For example, serious stomach pain, bloat, and feverish coughing are linked to the consumption of stale food or soured talla beer; these substances are, in turn, favorites of ganels. Similarly, the stench of bodily filth appeals to ganel and creeper, and is a common precursor to scabies and various rashes. However, both spoiled foodstuffs and filth are believed noxious enough to produce these ailments, without requiring the assistance of ganels or creepers.

*753 821 The notion of contact-pathogenicity which characterizes likift is also associated with a sun-borne agency known as gerifis. There is an important difference be-

*753 measles, and smallpox), whooping cough, and occasionally
[843] mumps. Pre-natal contagion, in which a homonculus receives a paternal bəšiyta or a fetus contracts a maternal bəšiyta via the blood nutriment, is responsible for childhood syphilis and syni tila. Rabies is the only example of animal-human contagion, the bəšiyta being carried by the dog's saliva. Neither likift nor the causation of jaundice through contact with bat urine are examples of telalafiy, since in neither case is the disease agent itself a victim of the ailment.

*753 The body's normal functioning is also disrupted by
• 825 deviations from acceptable limits of diet, physical acti-
827 vity, and emotion. Digestive wosfat, for example, are
*(192) angered by insufficient food, or food which is stale (injera bread), spoiled (soured talla beer), or improperly prepared (wot stew lacking the customary cayenne). In return, the wosfat rise up to bite the stomach itself, causing pain, bloat, and diarrhea; if these conditions persist, the wosfat will chew their way to the heart, pro-
*753 ducing great local pain, fever, and lassitude. Exces-
827 sive physical exertion is associated with local com-
[828] plaints: Extended walking may dislocate a jimat from its assigned channel (sprain); prolonged weeping can cloud the eye (trachoma and cataracts); extended and arduous thinking produces confusion; much hard labor results in arthritic and rheumatoid complaints. Intense emotions

12:Young E-4,5 (1966) 1971 MP5 Amhara MP5
Begemder

APPENDIX B

HERBALIST THERAPY FOR YIBUDA BAŠIYTA (BUDA POSSESSION)

754
[825] The buda is a human, male or female, who shares a kinship of sorts with the hyena. When at night he hears their calls, he is irresistably attracted to run about with them. Like the hyena, he strongly desires to eat of human flesh and blood, but his cravings are not malevolent, and he often regrets this compulsion. The buda trait is most often passed down within families; in Begemder Province, it is limited to Falasha families.[52]
[856] The buda trait is present at birth, but like an individual's other capacities, reaches full potency at its bearer's physical maturity.

In his nocturnal guise, the buda bears his human
[302] face upon a hyena's body. The first time an individual runs with the hyenas, he (or she) is obliged to cut his hair short, in the fashion of Falasha women; the subsequent transition from wer-hyena form to human appearance is accomplished on the following morning with the aid of a secret medicine. The buda is, however, most dangerous, when in his prosaic human form, he produces the buda syn-

[52] Elsewhere in Ethiopia, buda accusations are directed against local endogamous iron working peoples.